

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0057

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: PRELIMINARY TACTICAL APPROACH TO NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL

1. ON FEB 18, AD HOC GROUP APPROVED A BRIEF REPORT TO NAC ON THE NEW EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL AND OUT-LINED THE INITIAL SHORT-TERM TACTICAL APPROACH ALLIED REPS PLAN TO TAKE ON IT. TEXT OF AHG MESSAGE IS GIVEN BELOW.

2. WE SUPPORTED THE TACTICAL APPROACH OUTLINED IN THIS PAPER BECAUSE (A) EVEN IF IT IS DESIRED TO TURN THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL DOWN QUICKLY AND DEFINITELY, IT WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE TO DO SO WITHIN A FEW DAYS OF ITS TABLING, BEFORE EAST HAS DEVELOPED DETAILS, LEST THE EAST RESPOND BY DEFINITELY REJECTING THE WESTERN NUCLEAR PROPOSAL, THEREBY FORMALLY RULING OUT FURTHER DISCUSSION OF IT. (B) THE SUGGESTED PRELIMINARY APPROACH IS NON-

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COMMITTAL. IT DOES NOT IMPLY EITHER ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION OF THE NEW PROPOSAL, BUT LAYS PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON PUSHING FOR THE

WESTERN PROPOSALS OF DEC 16 AND ON DATA EXCHANGE. IT THEREFORE DOES NOT PREJUDICE DECISIONS AS TO TREATMENT OF EASTERN PROPOSAL WASHINGTON AGENCIES MAY REACH. AT THE SAME TIME, IT PERMITS WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO PROBE FOR DETAILS ON UNCLEAR ASPECTS OF THE EASTERN PROGRAM IN ORDER TO FACILITATE A CLEARER ASSESSMENT OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE. (C) EASTERN REPS MAY BE EXPECTED TO PUSH THEIR NEW PROPOSAL IN THE COMING DAYS. AGREEMENT AMONG ALLIED REPS IN VIENNA ON HOW TO DEAL WITH IT INITIALLY IS NEEDED.

3. FOLLOWING THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION ON FEB 24, WHEN EASTERN REPS MAY GIVE MORE CLARIFYING DETAILS ON THEIR PROPOSAL, WE WILL SUBMIT FOR WASHINGTON AGENCIES OUR ANALYSIS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TOGETHER WITH RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO LONGER RANGE TREATMENT.

4. BEGIN TEXT:

1. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION WHICH TOOK PLACE ON FEB 17, 1976, THE SOVIET REP, SPEAKING IN THE NAME OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE VIENNA TALKS, PRESENTED A NEW PROPOSAL ON FORCE REDUCTIONS, THE TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS BELOW.

2. THE SOVIET REP MADE FEW FURTHER DETAILS AVAILABLE IN HIS ACCOMPANYING COMMENT AND THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL HAS MANY UNCLEAR ASPECTS. HOWEVER, IT IS ALREADY OBVIOUS THAT THE PROPOSAL IS BASED ON THE ORIGINAL EASTERN CONCEPT OF CONTRACTUALIZING THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES THROUGH THE USE OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE AND EQUAL NUMBER REDUCTIONS. THE PROPOSAL MAKES NO MOVE TOWARDS ACCEPTING THE REQUIREMENT FOR DEALING WITH THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES AND THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE EAST IS WILLING TO GIVE UP ITS INSISTANCE ON NATIONAL CEILINGS. MOREOVER IT APPEARS THAT NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD STILL BE REQUIRED TO ASSUME SPECIFIC REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN THE FIRST PHASE. THE PROPOSAL CONTAINS A NUMBER OF OTHER NEGATIVE ASPECTS IN TERMS OF THE WESTERN APPROACH.

3. WITHIN THIS GENERALLY NEGATIVE FRAMEWORK, THE PROPOSAL MAY CONTAIN A FEW NEW ASPECTS, INCLUDING THE POINT THAT THE FIRST REDUCTION STAGE WOULD CONSIST EXCLUSIVELY OF US-SOVIET FORCES.

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MOREOVER, THE APPROACH PROPOSED FOR THE FIRST STAGE US-SOVIET MANPOWER REDUCTION SPECIFIES EQUAL PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL MILITARY MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE, RATHER THAN EQUAL ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, AS IN PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF THE EASTERN INITIAL STEP PROPOSAL. THE EFFECT OF THIS IS TO INCREASE THE COGENCY AND LOGIC OF THE WESTERN CASE FOR EXCHANGE OF DATA. FINALLY, THE FREEZE, UNLIKE THE EARLIER EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, IS LINKED TO THE REDUCTIONS THE EAST HAS PROPOSED.

4. ANOTHER POINT TO BE NOTED IS THE NEW PROVISION THAT FORCES

WITHDRAWN FROM THE AREA WOULD BE DISBANDED.

5. ON A PRELIMINARY BASIS, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WILL AVOID TAKING A DEFINITIVE POSITION ON THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AS A WHOLE. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WILL CONTINUE TO PUSH HARD FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS OF DEC 16, 1975, EMPHASIZING THE CASE FOR APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES, THE MIXED-PACKAGE CONCEPT, AND THE COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING. THEY WILL DEMONSTRATE THE UNSUITABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL, AND PUSH HARD FOR DATA EXCHANGE ON MANPOWER WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF DEMONSTRATING DISPARITIES AND DOCUMENTING THE CASE FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS.

6. ALSO ATTACHED TO THIS REPORT IS A PRESS GUIDANCE THE AD HOC GROUP INTENDS TO USE IN THE EVENT OF EASTERN PRESS LEAKS ON THEIR NEW PROPOSAL. THE GROUP BELIEVES IT WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE TO GO BEYOND THIS AT THIS STAGE. END TEXT.

BEGIN TEXT OF PRESS GUIDANCE: THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE WILL BE DRAWN ON BY WESTERN SPOKESMEN IN VIENNA IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS IN THE EVENT THE EAST INDICATES PUBLICLY THAT IT HAS MADE A NEW PROPOSAL.

1. WE CAN CONFIRM THAT THE EAST HAS TABLED A PROPOSAL.

2. WE CANNOT REVEAL ITS SUBSTANCE. THESE ARE CONFIDENTIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

3. WE ARE STUDYING THE PROPOSAL. WE CAN, HOWEVER, SAY THAT MUCH OF IT IS FAMILIAR AND HAS FORMED PART OF THE EASTERN POSITION THROUGHOUT THESE NEGOTIATIONS. ITS CENTRAL CONCEPT, AS IN THE
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ORIGINAL EASTERN PROPOSAL OF NOV 1973, CONTINUES TO BE BASED ON THE IDEA OF CONTRACTUALIZING EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND TANKS. FURTHERMORE, THERE IS STILL NO INDICATION THAT THE EAST IS PREPARED TO MAKE AVAILABLE NECESSARY DATA ON MANPOWER LEVELS IN THE AREA.

4. THE PRINCIPAL REQUIREMENT IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AS WE HAVE STRESSED FROM THE START, IS TO DEAL WITH THE SUBSTANTIAL AND DESTABILIZING DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND MAIN BATTLE TANKS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENT MUST BE MET IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE THE AGREED AIMS OF ENHANCING STABILITY AND STRENGTHENING SECURITY IN EUROPE.

5. THE IMPORTANT NEW INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE WEST ON 16 DEC LAST YEAR PROVIDES AN EFFECTIVE AND EQUITABLE WAY IN WHICH THIS FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENT CAN BE MET. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR ITS ACCEPTANCE. END TEXT OF PRESS GUIDANCE. RESOR

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